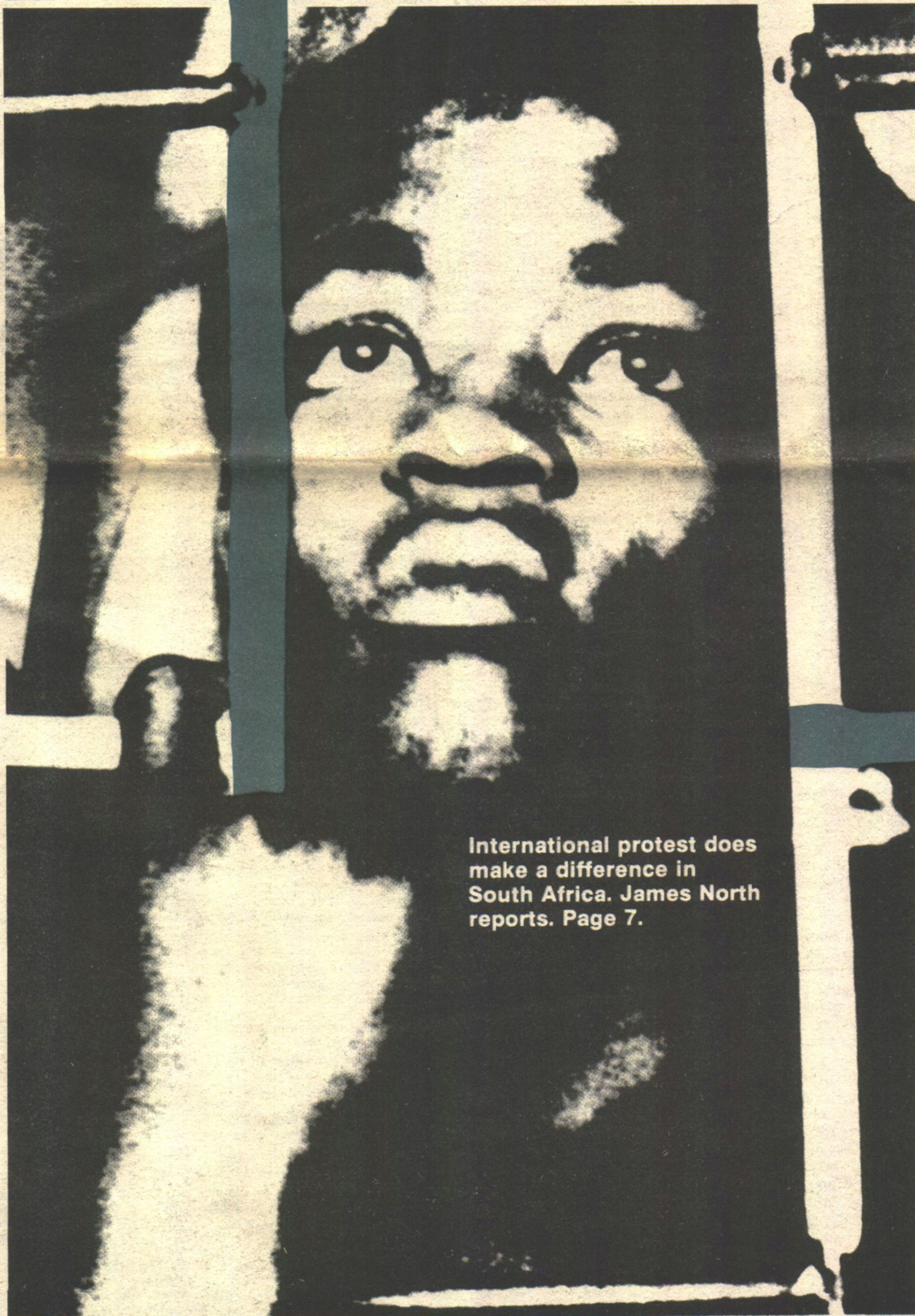




They are watching in

PRETORIA

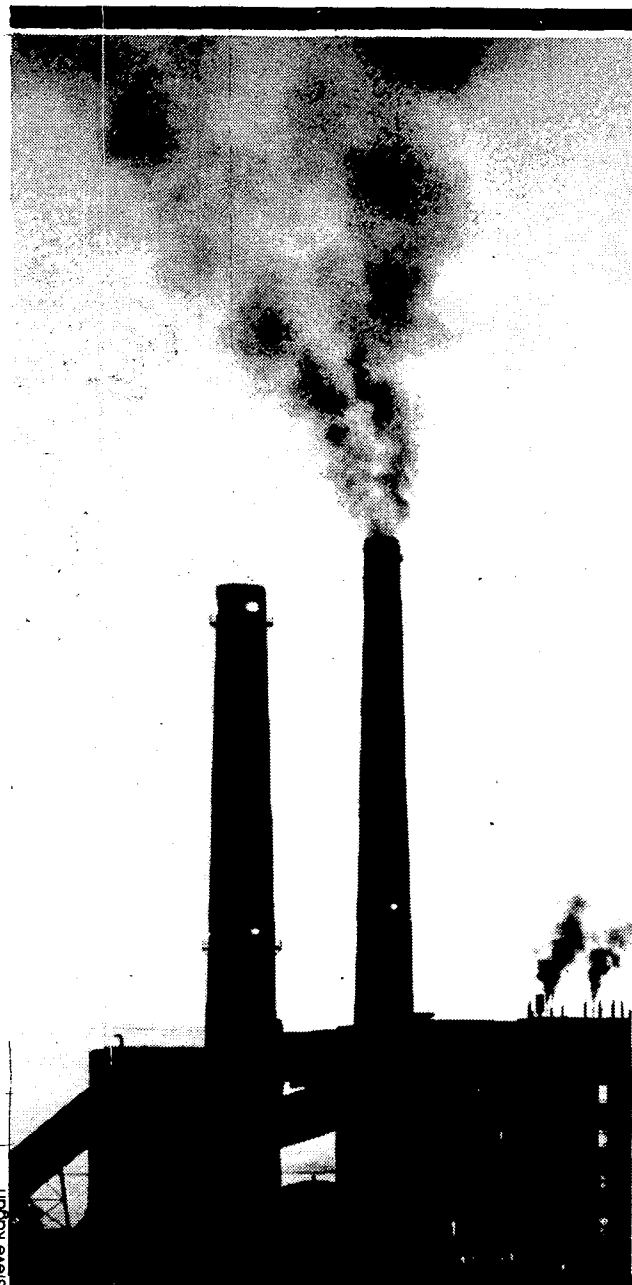


International protest does
make a difference in
South Africa. James North
reports. Page 7.

**Let them
wear respirators**

**The battle against OSHA's mask-the-worker
approach to job safety has been joined in one
Tennessee factory. Page 5.**

THE INSIDE STORY



Many unions don't buy the "smoke means jobs" line, but they don't consider clean air a frontline issue.

Unions are of three minds on clean air

By David Moberg

With a stagnant economy forming the backdrop to the conservative and corporate drive to weaken environmental protection, especially the Clean Air Act, the links formed in recent years between labor and environmentalists are being put to a test.

One sign of strength was the formation last February of the OSHA/Environmental Network by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department and the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth and the Wilderness Society. Now nearly doubled to 23 states, the network brings small lobbying groups to Washington for a White House vigil and Congressional arm-twisting on behalf of OSHA and the Clean Air Act by union members and environmental advocates.

"We've had some comments from Congresspeople saying they were surprised to see labor and environmental people together," network field director Bill Wilson said, "and at times they tried to meet with each group separately, but the delegations refused to be separated."

Labor, however, is divided within itself on the Clean Air Act—"like everything else, into three parts," says John Sheehan, Steelworkers legislative representative and the leading labor lobbyist on behalf of strong clean air legislation. One part wants strong governmental authority, he said. A second includes unions in low-polluting industries and unions "who see linkage with environmental health and don't want to get swept along in the 'smoke means jobs' stuff," but still don't see clean air as a frontline issue for them (public employees and clothing textile workers, for example).

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"In the third camp there are those who have been swayed [by the argument] that jobs are being lost, those whose industries contribute to pollution and those operating the building trades who are being told that clean air stops construction jobs," Sheehan says. Besides the Building Trades, the Autoworkers fall in Sheehan's third camp. The only three unions in the Clean Air Coalition, the leading lobbying force for the act, are the Steelworkers, the Machinists and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Yet not even the "third camp" unions portray their positions as hostile to the aim of the Clean Air Act. The Building Trades work with a roster of blue-chip major corporations, mainly from the oil and chemical industries, in the National Economic Development Association/Clean Air Act Project (NEDA/CAAP). By comparison with the Business Roundtable, which shares the Reagan/Watt philosophy of conservation that the only good tree is a dead tree, NEDA/CAAP corporations have money to pay for pollution abatement and want more moderate revisions. Those changes would, nevertheless, severely weaken the Act according to its defenders.

Gored ox.

NEDA/CAAP and the Building Trades seek four major changes in the Act that would affect both the requirements on technology and the restrictions on levels of pollution in the air, the two reinforcing aspects of Clean Air Act standards: 1) Eliminate the program of budgeted increments in pollution that are permitted in the 90 percent of the country where the air is still cleaner than the national standards allow and simply apply standards on the technology employed; 2) eliminate the requirement that new industry in dirty areas offset their new emissions with reductions elsewhere in the region that yield net progress toward clean air; 3) eliminate the existing maximal standard for "lowest achievable emission rate" in dirty areas and replace it with a weaker technology standard; and 4) permit more delays in deadlines for meeting the Act's requirements.

James Sheets, research director of the Laborers Union and a representative to NEDA/CAAP, argues that the overly complex legislation slows planning and construction, making corporations less willing even to consider chancy projects and costing construction workers jobs. He dismisses the different opinion of the industrial unions as reflecting limited experience.

"We represent people involved in new construction and plant development," he said. "The IUD represents people in existing facilities. The parts of the Act that would constrain their operation never went into effect. The difference in opinion between us is that our ox has been gored and theirs probably hasn't. As time goes by, I think their affection for the Act will diminish."

The National Commission on Air Quality doubted that any job ox had been gored by the Clean Air Act. Also, Japan and Western Europe, where air pollution standards are as strict or more so than in the U.S., haven't suffered a noticeable decline in jobs as a result. (Lack of government planning, high interest rates, corporate misallocation of capital and national differences in corporate investment perspective all weigh more heavily against new construction than any possible environmental effect.)

David Doniger of the Natural Resources Defense Council also notes that "the delays aren't all they're cracked up to be. The average permit goes through in less than a year. And very often longer delays are a result of giving the companies a chance to fix up grossly deficient applications."

Sheehan says that the Steelworkers recognized that

their industry couldn't compete with imports and was shutting down mills because it had failed to modernize. Forcing the industry to clean up the environment also forces it to modernize, and in the process pollution abatement becomes an insignificant part of rebuilding the mills. The union was part of a negotiated deal for a "stretch-out" of industry compliance that requires companies to put any dollars diverted from immediate abatement into modernization so that the industry will reach its mandated goals by 1985. "Through the Clean Air Act activity we're winning secure jobs and healthier jobs," Sheehan says.

Sheehan thinks that Steelworkers became committed to environmental protection because they realized that the pollution they could readily see in their communities was hurting them, just as noxious conditions in the plant were endangering their health. But members of building trades unions are "not necessarily the ones who stay behind and experience the health hazards of these plants," Sheehan says, and they consequently don't worry as much about air pollution threats.

Slipping suspenders.

The changes that the Building Trades favor would make it a little easier to build more plants in clean areas, which some industrial unions fear would hasten the decline of the old industrial heartland. Eliminating the increments or budgets for clean areas would discourage careful long-term planning and would also undermine the pressure towards more exacting technical standards, Doniger argues. "The increments are the suspenders that hold our technical standards up to our waist." The costs of offsets or "lowest achievable emission rate" standards in dirty areas are "trivial compared to total project costs," he says. And weakening of deadlines effectively means weakening standards.

But when a union faces massive unemployment of its members, it is tempting to clutch at straws. Despite discomfort on the part of some of its staff, the UAW has endorsed the relaxation of carbon monoxide and nitrogen oxide emission standards sought by the auto industry, although it struck a more cautionary note on some other industry-sponsored revisions, such as on enforcement. Insiders suspect that the union hopes its cooperation on clean air revisions may help its bargaining position with legislators like Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), who favors lowered emission standards, or with auto executives.

Not only is there substantial evidence of the health dangers involved in the rollback, but there are also reasons to believe that the change would provide minimal help to the auto industry and possibly even interfere with the push toward more advanced technology that would ultimately make auto jobs more secure (*In These Times*, Oct. 14).

Sheehan also worries that if Congress grants relief on mobile sources, then it will be under pressure to ease the responsibility of stationary sources, such as steel mills and utilities. (The Mineworkers have so far committed themselves to a strong Clean Air Act, and out of their own self-interest are particularly concerned that there should be uniform requirements of air pollution controls on all utilities so that low-sulfur western coal does not get a further advantage).

Divisions within labor—between the IUD and the Building Trades on "prevention of significant deterioration" or the Autoworkers on truck and car emissions—make it harder for the AFL-CIO to mobilize its forces on the issue. Nevertheless, Sheehan argues, "This time I'm afraid the Clean Air Act is going to be attacked so hard by the administration that you'll find the AFL-CIO will find it necessary to speak up."

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Cleveland's voters want a rest

By John Judis

CLEVELAND

DENNIS KUCINICH'S 1977 TO 1979 term as Cleveland's urban populist mayor has left two marks on the city's electorate. First, it has made them wary of hot shots and other fiscal favors to corporations—so much so that Kucinich's successor, George Voinovich, has largely forgone such tax concessions. But the Kucinich years, with their pitched battle between the mayor and the city's downtown establishment, which culminated in the December 1978 default, also made Clevelanders wary of "confrontation politics." That wariness was evident in last week's mayoral and city council elections.

As expected, Voinovich won an impressive 75 percent of the vote against token Democratic opposition. ("Inside Story," Nov. 9). But in the city council races, where Voinovich's opponents, led by Kucinich and the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC), had expected to make significant gains, Cleveland's left was also dealt a number of sharp defeats. OPIC's Jay Westbrook and Gary Kucinich, Dennis' brother, won re-election, but other stalwarts, including two incumbents, were defeated. "I am afraid the election was a victory of moderation over any kind of extremes or radicalism," Dan Marschall, a former Kucinich administration official, said. "People still haven't gotten over the chaos and the battles of the Kucinich years."

The drawbacks of the Kucinich legacy were most apparent in the defeat of 24-year-old former union militant and neighborhood organizer Richard Chudner. In the primary, Chudner led incumbent Dale Miller in his predominately middle class white ethnic ward, and was favored to win.

The legacy of confrontation.

Much of Chudner's political education came from his parents—his father was a founder of a United Auto Workers local in Cleveland and his mother has been a long-time neighborhood organizer. But he was deeply influenced by Kucinich, whose issues and combative style he adopted.

In his campaign, Chudner tried to portray himself as the champion of the neighborhoods against downtown business. He charged his moderate Democratic opponent with being a "puppet of George Forbes" (the black pro-business city council president) and with being an advocate of "forced busing" and public housing. During one press conference, he and his supporters' attacks reduced the mild-mannered Miller to tears.

Chudner defended his political style. "Nothing has ever been gained in this country without some kind of confrontation," he said.

But Miller, with Voinovich's backing, was able to make the election a referendum on confrontational politics, with predictable results—Miller got 65 percent of the vote.

The Voinovich forces tried to use similar tactics against Westbrook, who had led the council opposition to Voinovich's desegregation administrator.

Westbrook's easy win, with 68 percent of the vote, reflected his skill as a politician and a campaigner. "Westbrook combines radicalism with competence," one observer remarked. But the failure of Westbrook's allies to win will leave him and Gary Kucinich isolated on the city council and force Westbrook to postpone his attempt to replace Forbes as city council president.

The city council races also rekindled a fierce debate within Cleveland's left about what former Kucinich aide Bob Weissman called "race politics." The editor of the local newsletter, *Point of*

View, Roldo Bartimole, charged that both OPIC and Chudner were using their attacks on Forbes (rather than Voinovich) and on busing (which is not under city council jurisdiction) to play on white Clevelanders' racism. "OPIC has taken a course that brings it shame," Bartimole remarked. "They've got to understand that this is a city that is half black and half white."

Westbrook denies that "busing is a racial issue on the West Side or the East Side. While the majority don't like busing, what they see is an education system not working." He acknowledged that city council has no say over busing, but said that he gets "confronted by more complaints about busing of the schools

you're involved in council or city politics, there's no holds barred. Forbes uses racism to try to protect his base. White politicians who challenge Forbes correctly have to give it right back to him."

Style and substance.

The 1981 election raises an important question about the Kucinich years: Could the Kucinich administration have pursued its opposition to tax abatements and support for public enterprise without engaging in confrontation? When Clevelanders repudiate "confrontation politics," are they also repudiating Kucinich's urban populism?

Cleveland's left remains divided on this question. Former Kucinich planning director

Norman Krumholz thinks the Kucinich style undermined the substance of his program. Even among Kucinich's supporters in OPIC, one hears misgivings about some aspects of "confrontation politics," especially as it sometimes carried over to Kucinich's battles with neighborhood groups and other erstwhile allies.

But Kucinich and top aide Weissman remain convinced that urban populism and their style of confrontation are inextricably bound up with each other. "Those who pamper themselves by distinguishing between our program and our style reveal that they were not tough enough to win or to govern," Weissman said.



OPIC member Jan Westbrook (center) won re-election to the Cleveland city council, but most Kucinich supporters were defeated.

than any school board member."

Westbrook also denies that people's hatred of Forbes is based on Forbes' race. "It goes back to the tax abatement days. People have no problem with having a black leader at city hall—they just want someone they believe and trust."

Westbrook does acknowledge that in the absence of an anti-downtown white-black coalition, "race politics" will persist, but he denies Bartimole's argument that they undermine eventual unity. "Racial concepts are an ingrained part of people's lives," he explained. "What has to be done to change the quality of life has to be done objectively in the conditions of people's lives. Whether something you write reinforces or ignores people's conceptions has no real impact on the basic goal."

Kucinich's own perspective is similar. "If we're going to get beyond race politics, we're going to unite whites and blacks on economic issues," he said in an interview in his West Side home several days before the election. "But when

But New Yorkers have a new party

By Paul Du Brul

NEW YORK

DESPITE THE LOWEST VOTER turnout in a New York City general election in 20 years, incumbent Mayor Ed Koch—running as both the Democratic and Republican candidate—won re-election with a decisive 75 percent of the vote. Frank Barbaro, Koch's leading opponent in the Democratic primary, was runner-up with 13 percent of the vote as a candidate of the newly-formed Unity Party, a coalition of leftists, trade unions and minorities.

While Barbaro's final tally of 162,000 votes was actually 50,000 less than he garnered in the Democratic primary, the fledgling Unity Party convincingly elbowed aside the established Conservative, Liberal and Right-to-Life parties and seems determined to become a permanent factor in city and state politics. Barbaro tallied almost twice as many votes as all his other minor-party opponents combined, even though the Unity Party was tucked away on line "h" at the farthest margins of the voting machine.

The most surprising aspect of Koch's victory was his comfortable margin in the

Continued on page 8

IN SHORT

Where credit is due

On the whole, reports "In Short" financial correspondent George Lowrey, high interest rates are crippling the economy. A record number of small and medium-size businesses, for instance, have been pushed into bankruptcy by rising short-term commercial rates. The prevailing mortgage rates—along with inflated prices—have priced 95 percent of all American families out of the single-family home market, according to the National Association of Realtors. And higher rates paid to savers have pushed many savings banks to the edge of insolvency.

So who are those people dancing in the streets? They're creditors, celebrating *incomes* from loans that have risen right along with interest rates. In September, people with money to lend received a whopping \$322 billion in interest income, calculated at annual rates. Putting that figure into context, it's a lot more than the total wages and salaries paid to all government employees (\$277 billion) and only about 5 percent less than the \$341 billion earned by workers in all the service industries combined.

Get out your safety nets

Early this month—as President Reagan worked on proposals for further reductions in such "entitlement" programs as food stamps, school lunches and Medicaid—the Census Bureau released a study showing that a lot more families relied on those programs in 1980 than had done so in 1979. Gordon W. Green, a demographer and economist with the bureau, told the *New York Times* that the increased participation in major federal benefit programs coincided with "the largest decline in real incomes in the post-World War II period and one of the largest increases in poverty since we started compiling statistics in the early 1960s."

A blue Moon

As the Rev. Sun Myung Moon faces charges of tax evasion, there is growing evidence that the legal problems of Moon's Unification Church may actually involve thousands of its members. According to a copyrighted story from the Pacific News Service (PNS), it seems that the church has been focusing its recruiting efforts on foreigners in the face of sharply declining interest on the part of American youth. Church members, presenting themselves as members of front organizations like Project Volunteer, approach young tourists at such places as bus stations and airports. The recruits—most of whom are middle-class whites from Europe and English-speaking countries—are first sent to a Unification Church camp and then put to work in one of the church's various enterprises. The legal hitch develops when the foreign Moonies outstay their tourist visas. The Immigration and Naturalization Service claims that as many as 2,000 church members remain in the country illegally, but the INS has been frustrated in its efforts to find most of them. Moonies must be harder to spot than Haitians, Salvadorans and Mexicans.

The gestalt is bad

Now it's official. The former president of the American Psychiatric Association has announced that a "pathological mechanism of denial" is keeping Americans from thinking about the implications of nuclear war, according to PNS. And, says Dr. Judd Marmor, that's only one of several psychological factors that are increasing the probability of a catastrophic world war. People in all countries, he says, are being conditioned to accept the arms race, view their adversaries as totally evil and think of nuclear destruction in terms of statistics—death tolls and damage estimates—that depersonalize the danger. Pointing out that "you can't have a way of life if you're dead," the doctor eschews Freudian terms in his prescription for a cure: a strong peace movement.

Well, they tried

Displaying a profound lack of class consciousness, a 1,100-pound beluga whale—freed from its pen only a day earlier by the Greenpeace Foundation—returned voluntarily into captivity. It was being trained by the U.S. Navy, says the Associated Press, to retrieve submerged torpedoes in the waters off Parksville, British Columbia.... A photograph of a purported top-secret Soviet electronics command center, published recently in the U.S. Defense Department's slick presentation of Russian military strength, shows a group of men clustered around a console in a room packed with electronic gear. The problem with the pic, according to Radio Moscow (via PNS), is that it actually depicts a chemical industries exhibit at the 1979 Moscow World Exhibition.... In this space, we've occasionally reported on a trend among rich people around the world, fearful of economic instability in their own country, to haul their assets to the U.S. Now, according to PNS, British investment banker John Gommers is following suit, advising the well-to-do to get their money out of England. Gommers warns in his book *How to Survive the Coming Left-Wing Government* that tight money will unravel the current Conservative government, and that if the Tories don't move their dough—preferably to Panama—all will be lost to the incoming socialists.

—Josh Kornbluth



Kren Akorore Indians in central Brazil, where traditional cultures are threatened by hydroelectric projects.

If you thought Watt was bad

The Brazilian government, for whom the country's 228,000 Indians are largely an awkward obstacle to development projects in the Amazon basin, has figured out a new way to get rid of an Indian—legislate him out of existence.

In September Brazil's National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) published its "Criteria of Indianness," a list of guidelines to determine who is, legally, an Indian. Included are such items as "primitive mentality," "undesirable biological, psychic and cultural characteristics" and antiquated measures such as skull size, type of eyes and type of hair. Some claim the new guidelines are an attempt to reduce the number of people entitled to FUNAI's services, especially since a large minority of Brazil's Indians speak Portuguese and use Brazilian dress. The president of the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA) denounced the criteria as "dangerous, racist and fascist," and the scientific community regards them as a travesty.

This wouldn't be the first time FUNAI has stunted on its obligations to the Indians, according to indigenist leaders. The 1971 Indian Statute—the legal charter of FUNAI—requires the government to protect Indian lands and offer medical assistance and education. Brazilian Indians are thus not separate nations, but legal minors and wards of the state. In recent years, academics, journalists and Indians have charged FUNAI with corruption, negligence and arbitrary administration. For instance, the demarcation of Indian lands, mandated by 1978, is not yet completed in many parts of the country, leaving mining companies, agribusinesses and prospectors to take over land where Indians are still hunting, fishing and farming.

FUNAI's failures are less a matter of incompetence than of design. It is a branch of the Ministry of the Interior, the agency charged with economic development. The president of FUNAI is typically a member of the National Security Council, a sure sign that the job is regarded as highly sensitive by Brazil's

military rulers, who are committed to the industrial development of the interior.

The guidelines appear at a time when both development pressures and protest are intensifying. Planned hydroelectric projects in the Amazon basin will floor or render uninhabitable some 250,000 acres of Indian land.

At the same time the indigenist movement is gaining strength. Indian support groups such as the Pro-Indian Commissions that exist in several Brazilian states and in all the major cities; the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI) sponsored by the Brazilian bishops; and the ABA jointly succeeded in 1978 in blocking a FUNAI attempt to make Indian lands private property, without checks on the all-too-probable prompt resale to or seizure by corporate interests.

Indians have become increasingly visible in their own defense, both through illegal and legal actions. In May 1980, 33 Shavante Indians occupied FUNAI offices for weeks and finally succeeded in getting their lands demarcated. Last August an intertribal coalition, frustrated after a year of petitioning to reroute a road through Indian lands, murdered 11 farmworkers on a farm that had sprung up next to the road. (In a similar incident in another state shortly thereafter, more than 20 farmworkers were killed.) The Shavante leader Mario Juruna—honorary president of the Fourth Bertrand Russell Tribunal on human rights, where he spoke on behalf of South American Indians—has recently registered as a candidate for federal representative to the Brazilian Congress from Rio de Janeiro.

These guidelines are thus the latest in an escalating fight over contested resources. The guidelines have already been used to deny FUNAI assistance to two indigenous groups, the Ocoi and the Tingui.

"The great hope of the government is that the Indians will disappear," said Olympio Serra, once-director of the major Indian reserve land and bounced from FUNAI for his pro-Indian stance. This legislation takes a new approach to that familiar objective.

—Steve Schwartzman

Among organizations concerned with South American Indian rights are Survival International, 2121 Decatur Pl. NW, Washing-

ton, D.C. 20008, and Anthropology Resource Center, 59 Temple Pl., #444, Boston, MA 02111.

Jersey groups hold job action

When some New Jersey trade unionists returned home from the big September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., they took seriously the idea of bringing the protest back to their grassroots. The Communications Workers of America (CWA), which has represented 34,000 state workers since early this year, joined 10,000 other public workers and 20,000 in the private sector in calling for a 10-minute work stoppage and rallies on Oct. 28 to protest Reagan's budget cuts and to defend the rights of public workers, such as the air controllers, to strike.

Modeled on a brief work stoppage and postcard-writing campaign by the auto workers last year, the CWA "Solidarity Day—New Jersey" had mixed results. Though its state employee members did stop work and write about 10,000 postcards, few other unions followed their lead—not even the other public employee unions. But several major community groups, including the large Tenants Organization and the Federation of Seniors, joined rallies in Newark, Elizabeth and Trenton.

Larry Cohen, the CWA international representative who organized the Oct. 28 actions, felt that other unions may have decided to put all their energy into the elections on Nov. 3 rather than mobilize for the protest. But he argued that when even the labor-backed candidate for governor, Democratic Rep. James Florio, opposed rehiring PATCO strikers, there was a need for labor to build an independent coalition, with its own agenda, to pressure elected officials.

—David Moberg

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

IN THE NATION

STRIKES

Lethal work, if you can get it

By James Crawford

JONESBORO, TENNESSEE

VINCENT MANGO REMEMBERS the blue-white flash of magnesium exploding, then total darkness. "I thought the power had failed, because everywhere you looked it was black. But it was a black cloud of dust."

Not sure where to run, Mango stumbled toward what looked like daylight, only to find the uranium furnaces in flames. Automatically, he grabbed an extinguisher and started fighting the blaze.

Small fires had routinely plagued the TNS plant, where depleted uranium and magnesium chips are melted down then machined into anti-tank bullets for the U.S. Army. In dust form, both metals are highly combustible, so it was not unusual for workers' clothes to catch fire. And almost daily "blowouts," caused by faulty seals on pressure pots of molten uranium, belched hot slag and fumes into the air.

But the magnesium explosion was not routine. Barrels of chips fed a stubborn fire, and by the time workers finally got it under control they had inhaled a heavy dose of uranium. Mango went home feeling shaken, but lucky to have escaped injury. It wasn't until hours later than the kidney pains began.

Jim Barlow, the company's health and safety supervisor, knew right away what was wrong when Mango reported his

When one worker inhaled a big dose of uranium he was advised to "drink lots of beer."

symptoms. Depleted uranium, a waste product of the nuclear fuel enrichment process, makes a devastating artillery round because of its density—nearly twice that of lead—which enables it to penetrate armor. For the same reason, the heavy metal can be devastating to the kidneys.

According to Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) guidelines, when a worker's uranium level reaches 130 micrograms per liter of urine, permanent damage may have occurred. Mango's count registered 1,950 a few days after the fire. At that point, he recalls, Barlow told him there was only one thing to do—"drink lots of beer" to flush out his kidneys.

That advice, say TNS employees, was sadly typical of the company's approach to industrial hygiene. Finally fed up with inadequate controls for radiation and toxic chemicals, the 85 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) walked off the job on April 30.

Their strike, unlike most, features no economic issues. In fact, the workers passed up a tempting 25 percent wage increase over one year, an additional paid holiday and other benefits. "My health is more important than money," explains Johnny Bettis, president of Local 3-974. "I wouldn't go back to that plant if they offered me \$20 an hour, the condition it's in. I like living too much."

As the Reagan administration dismantles health and safety rules and enforcement, such strikes may not remain unusual for very long. Deregulation simply came early in Jonesboro.

When he went to work at TNS five years ago, Bettis knew little about the ef-

fects of radiation or uranium dust. Aerojet Ordnance Co., a California-based subsidiary of General Tire, had recently acquired the plant and, hoping to attract a stable workforce, started paying some of the highest industrial wages in upper East Tennessee. Company officials systematically assured new hires that no danger would be involved with the work.

"They said I was exposed to more radiation from my TV set," recalls Mike Elam, now a union negotiator. Others were told that the radiation dose accumulated in an entire year of working with depleted uranium was comparable to that of 2 dental x-rays.

But company monitoring records tell a different story. Workers' dosimeter badge readings, recently turned over to the union, reveal that in an average working day, many were receiving the equivalent of 1 to 2 chest x-rays, and some as much as 3 to 4. "That's a whopping dose," says Dr. Mark Nelson, an OCAW physician who has been advising the local.

Alpha radiation (not recorded by the badges) poses an even greater threat, according to Nelson. These high-energy particles don't penetrate deep into body tissues (in the manner of x-rays of gamma rays), but when inhaled they do considerable damage. Fine uranium oxide particles lodge deep in the lungs, irradiating nearby cells and causing changes that can lead to cancer.

Such particles result at practically every stage of production at TNS (mixing, melting, grinding and so on). Yet ventilation is antiquated. Today, even management will admit that dust is pervasive throughout much of the plant.

But only after workers elected the OCAW to represent them two years ago did they learn about their increased risks of cancer and kidney disease. Meeting with other atomic worker locals, Bettis attended a lecture by Nelson on radiation health and safety. "That's when I learned the company was lying to us," he says. "And then I educated the people."

Soon the local began pressing for engineering controls to clean the air. In some departments, ventilation depended mainly on inadequate ceiling fans; in others, existing dust collectors malfunctioned and seldom had their filters changed.

But instead of installing a new ventilation system, management decided to install controls on the workers themselves—respirators became mandatory in dusty production areas. Not surprisingly, the solution proved unpopular with union members, who resented being strapped into rubber masks for as much as eight hours a day in a plant where temperatures reached 117 degrees.

In the past, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has allowed only temporary reliance on respirators, reasoning that making the worker miserable can't be very effective industrial hygiene. But the Reagan administration now plans to reverse that policy. Thorne Auchter, the new head of OSHA, sees the devices as a "cost-effective" alternative to mechanical ventilation and believes that allowing their unrestricted use would eliminate an especially "burdensome" federal regulation.

But in labor's eyes revising OSHA rules along these lines would simply transfer the health and safety burden to the worker. This issue promises to be "the most significant OSHA fight from now till 1984," predicts OCAW international representative Steve Wodka. "There's going to be a battle over whether respirators and engineering controls are equivalent, where the scientific and medical evidence—not only for uranium,

but for a whole host of substances—shows they are not."

Certainly at TNS, the evidence points to this conclusion. Even while wearing the masks, workers' uranium counts remained dangerously high. Fifty-three percent of employees monitored, including a majority of those who wore respirators full-time, exceeded the NRC's safe limits—some by 15 to 20 times.

Meanwhile, as spring approached, negotiations for a new contract got under way. Management refused to budge on



The TNS workers are now under court order to post only one picket at a time and community support is thin in this out-of-the-way corner of a right-to-work state.

the respirator issue. By now well aware of the uranium hazard, workers turned down management's money offer and voted overwhelmingly to strike.

Your consultant or mine?

Aerojet spokesman Edward Smith (speaking for TNS management) concedes the company is still trying to solve the "very complex airborne dust problem," but can't say when ventilation improvements will be made. "We're not going to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on this idea one week and that idea a month from now. We're going to reach a solution we know will work."

But he insists that the respirators provide adequate protection and that workers' high urine counts prove nothing. "They were probably spiked intentionally," he charges, or resulted from "failure to adhere to sanitation standards prior to giving the sample."

In negotiations the union has proposed that TNS hire a mutually agreeable independent firm to determine the extent of health and safety hazards and make recommendations for engineering controls. "If the company feels there's not a problem," argues Dr. Nelson, "it should have no objection [to such a study]." But TNS rejected the idea, arguing the union should pay half the expense.

But shortly after workers struck the company did hire an outside consultant to back up its contention that no serious health risks exist. Although production had ceased, the Radiation Management Corporation of Philadelphia toured the plant in June and reviewed company records and procedures. According to TNS, RMC gave it a clean bill of health—a finding it used to advantage in

Yet when the union demanded to see the report—as is its right under OSHA—the company refused. A U.S. Labor Department official who recently visited the plant on the OCAW's behalf was likewise denied access. When TNS will have to make the document public remains unclear. But the union feels certain that Reagan administration promises to defang OSHA have encouraged company stalling on this and other issues.

A state of complacency.

Smith maintains that state agencies have already exonerated the company, indicating "that we in fact have had an operation here that presents no significant health hazards to anybody." In fact, the Tennessee Division of Occupational Safety and Health (TOSHA) cited TNS last winter for uranium dust levels 13 times over standard. But Smith has a point: on balance, TOSHA has soft-pedaled the hazards. Because workers were wearing respirators, it called the violation "nonserious" and issued no fine.

Tennessee, like 23 other states, en-

forces its own health and safety regulations in a kind of subcontractor arrangement with federal OSHA. With one or two exceptions, state plans are known for lax enforcement and political meddling. Characteristically, the Reagan administration hopes to turn over enforcement authority to still more states. On Oct. 21, Auchter announced he was reducing by two-thirds the minimum number of inspectors states must hire to be certified, and by half the number of federal monitors to oversee these programs.

Tennessee's Division of Radiological Health, which is authorized by the NRC to enforce licensing requirements for manufacturers of radioactive materials, has been a bit more active in ferreting out violations at TNS. In the six months prior to the strike, it cited the company 19 times—for employee overexposures to radiation, improper monitoring of air contamination and personnel doses, gaps and other irregularities in record-keeping, inadequate posting of restricted areas and other infractions.

But the agency issues no fines, and its only sanction—lifting a company's license—has been invoked only once in the last 11 years. So TNS has been less than intimidated by the DRH, whose reports show a pattern of recurrent violations at the plant. Sally Hock, the one inspector who pressed hard for changes, was subsequently hired as TNS' radiological physicist.

Of all the citations, inadequate monitoring is most worrisome to the OCAW. Because of it, radioactive dust was tracked through the plant and probably taken home on workers' clothing, endangering their families. Smith concedes no special

Continued on the following page

ELECTIONS

Jersey race stymies the trend watchers



Bush and Reagan campaigned for Kean, even though he dropped the supply-side jargon in mid-campaign.

George Bush

By Barbara Presley-Noble

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A REFERENDUM on Reaganomics. So said the president. So said the *New York Times*. And so said the Democratic candidate, who wanted the message to Reagan to be as "clear as a punch in the mouth." But the night after the Nov. 4 balloting in New Jersey's gubernatorial election, Thomas Kean, the Republican, cautiously claimed victory and James Florio, the Democrat, cheerfully refused to concede. Then both went to sleep, leaving not only the president's message, but also the elec-

tion results, unclear.

At two in the morning, with 99 percent of the ballots counted, Kean led by a scant 6,000 votes, out of more than two million cast. Later reports had that lead dwindling to an even scantier 250 votes. By Thursday, neither side was willing to claim outright victory and a recount seemed all but certain. The unofficial totals are so close that it may be weeks before a winner is finally declared.

The Florio camp, gearing for a recount, charged that there was evidence of "irregularities" in three Jersey counties: Kent, Passaic and Essex. Kean's staff had asked by early Wednesday morning to have the votes sealed, the first step in a recount of votes.

As expected, Florio pulled in his home territory, South Jersey, leading Kean there nearly two to one. But he had counted on winning by an even larger margin of three to one, or about 150,000 votes. A lower-than-expected turnout may have cost him the crucial votes; only about 60 percent of registered voters went to the polls.

Unpredictable independents.

The close race was unusual in a state that tends to vote its (usually Democratic) governors in by a large plurality. Registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans 34 percent to 22 percent, a gap that has been reflected in six of the last seven gubernatorial races. There has been only one Republican governor in 28 years, though the state voted heavily for Reagan in 1980. What volatility there is comes from the large block of independent voters, nearly 44 percent, who turn out in unpredictable numbers.

It is independent voters who provided the ambiguous message of the New Jersey tallies. Florio went into the last week of the campaign with a six-point lead over Kean in the polls, but with 19 percent of the voters undecided. In the last weekend of the campaign Kean brought in George Bush and accelerated the television ads in which Reagan apologized to people for telling them how to vote and then told them to vote for Kean. Florio—who had avoided the Democratic party regulars, including Governor Brendon Byrne, during most of the campaign—spent Sunday on the shopping-mall circuit with Bill Bradley, the state's popular freshman senator.

Kean, 46, a gap-toothed aristocrat whose family has been in Jersey politics since the Continental Congress, began his campaign early this year in the state's overpopulated primary election. He ran as a self-styled "supply-sider" and said he hoped to complement Reagan's federal policies on the state level. But later, even though he had the president's support, he dropped the jargon of Reagan economics. He talked simply of tax and budget cuts and of providing incentives to keep corporations in the state's urban areas, where unemployment is as

high as it is anywhere in the country.

Florio, for his part, ran against Reagan more than against Kean. He referred to supply-side proposals, as George Bush once did, as "voodoo economics," and said he favors tax and loan breaks for new and small businesses. Florio, 44, is an intense, pugnacious campaigner, who was once the Navy's middleweight boxing champion. His direct, confrontational style contrasts sharply with Kean's gentrified folksiness.

Insignificant differences.

That contrast in style reflects some of New Jersey's own differences, from the industrial moonscapes of the north to the beautiful coastal wetlands in the south. But ultimately, the differences seemed only a matter of style rather than of substance. Florio, the Democrat, the blue-collar ethnic candidate, had little new to offer voters in one of the most economically depressed states in the Northeast. Viewed as the "liberal," he actually characterized himself as a "flaming moderate." As a congressman from New Jersey's traditionally Republican first district, Camden County, he has consistently voted against using federal funds to pay for abortions. And like his "conservative" opponent, Kean, he favors the death penalty.

As for any message to the president, the close vote discouraged speculation by either side. James Courter, a New Jersey congressman who was Kean's campaign director, said he didn't think Reagan's endorsement helped Kean much. "New Jersey voters are independent," he said. "They vote on New Jersey issues."

As Florio's people waited on the final recount, they wondered where their support in South Jersey went. And the television panel of Republican experts brought in to interpret the results wondered what to talk about.

Barbara Presley-Noble is presently researching child welfare issues in New York City.

Strike

Continued from page 15

measures were taken to prevent this, but argues, "If they are following safety procedures, that shouldn't be necessary. You can only be your brother's keeper to a certain extent."

While few companies run on Sunday School ethics, TNS may be extreme even by nuclear industry standards. According to OCAW officials, it wants contract language allowing workers with radiation overexposures to be permanently laid off after six months. (Smith refuses to confirm or deny that the company has made such a proposal.)

Besides going against a right-wing regulatory tide and a powerful multinational with ties to the defense establishment, the union now finds itself up against hostile local authorities. In July TNS began hiring strikebreakers and though production did not increase appreciably, plant-gate incidents did. Judge Ed E. Williams (whose father heads the county industrial commission) jailed several strikers and limited the number of pickets to one at any given time. Some Jonesboro residents have begun to criticize TNS environmental practices—radioactive waste may be seeping into groundwater—but in this rural corner of a right-to-work state, that has not translated into support for the union.

Still, the strikers believe they can win. "The company thinks it can come in here from California and take advantage of a bunch of hillbillies," says Bettis. "But people here don't intend to be run over."

James Crawford is an editor of *Survival Kit*, a job health and safety newsletter in Boston.

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The regime gets the message



The funeral of Steven Biko, whose death in detention provoked such an international outcry that the regime was forced to improve its treatment of political prisoners.

By James North

JOHANNESBURG

IN MID-SEPTEMBER, AS THE SOUTH African rugby team was leaving New Zealand to start its tour of America, M.X. Bhengu, a black man, wrote a letter to one of the leading newspapers here. He described how he had gotten up at 3 a.m. to watch the final match between the Springboks and the New Zealand team, telecast live at that hour because of the time-zone difference. "My main purpose," he wrote, was to watch the Springboks being beaten, like any average black."

"I am no rugby fan," he continued. "I am not even familiar with the rules of how the game should be played. But I can read the scores."

Bhengu went on that the anti-tour demonstrations in New Zealand pleased him enormously: "I couldn't help wondering why whites, like the demonstrators, were thinking black like us. We are thousands of kilometers apart but they have something in common with us."

He closed by describing the match as a "great game." (South Africa lost.) And he added, "As much as [South African] whites have their friends over there, we also have ours."

As the Springboks landed in America, white South Africans expected an end to the demonstrations that had almost stopped the New Zealand tour. They knew rugby was an obscure sport in the United States, and so unlikely to generate much interest. They also hoped the Reagan administration's sympathy for Pretoria was spreading throughout the American population.

The rugby-lovers were sorely disappointed. The huge South African press contingent accompanying the Springboks filed lengthy page-one stories every day as the team was hounded across America. M.X. Bhengu did not write another letter to the newspapers, but he was surely ecstatic once again.

But the demonstrators in New Zealand and America may have wondered what contribution protest overseas makes toward destroying the apartheid system,

aside from the laudable aim of brightening the day for Bhengu and vast numbers of other blacks. The events of the past few months here may have been cause for pessimism. As the rugby tour took place, the regime destroyed the squatter camps in Nyanga, a Cape Town black township, and arrested several thousand people who were then deported back to the Bantustans. South African military units, based illegally in Namibia, invaded Angola, killing some 1,000 people. The regime announced it is now able to produce all of its own ammunition, getting around the 1977 U.N. arms embargo. Security police conducted a new wave of arrests, this time locking up mostly white radicals. Alongside these depressing events, the international protest movement may seem ineffectual, even trivial.

But such a judgment is too hasty. There is considerable evidence that anti-apartheid action overseas has had a number of positive consequences inside South Africa. Here are some instances:

- In 1974 the United Mine Workers of America and the Attorney General of Alabama jointly petitioned the U.S. Federal Commission of Customs to ban coal imports from South Africa. At the same time, dockworkers in Mobile, Alabama, refused to unload South African coal. The protestors claimed that a 1930 U.S. tariff act outlawed the importation of anything produced by "slave labor." The frightened apartheid regime moved with unusual speed, repealing the Masters and Servants Law (which were more than a century old) and portions of the Bantu Labor Act. The laws had stipulated that the breach of a service contract by a worker was a criminal offense; there had been 17,000 prosecutions under the legislation the previous year. South African black workers today continue to suffer government repression, but their burden is lighter than before 1974.

- In 1968, Herman Toivo Ja Toivo and 34 other members of SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement, were convicted in a Pretoria court of "terrorism," a capital offense. B.J. Vorster, then South Africa's prime minister, contacted the trial judge and told him not to hand down any death sentences; Vorster said he feared the

Front-page coverage of the Springboks' difficulties in the U.S. brightened the day for blacks here.

international reaction. The judge complied. Toivo got 20 years instead.

- Steve Biko was the 46th political prisoner to be murdered in detention. Four more detainees died after him, the last in July 1978. But since then, there have been no deaths, though the security laws are used more than ever. The people whom the regime detains know their chances of survival are somewhat improved—due partly to the worldwide outcry after Biko's death.

With fascist intent.

International pressure is also to an extent responsible for whatever vestigial rights survive in South Africa. Political prisoners are tried and sometimes even acquitted. Certain quasi-political meetings can sometimes be held, though usually indoors. Trade unions function, despite heavy harassment. Some of the press maintains a flicker of independence.

Apologists for the regime, here and overseas, fondly point to the persistence of these rights and exaggerate their importance, often drawing a snide contrast with "the rest of Africa." The implication is that the rights survive due to the ruling elite's generosity, or to its sincere belief in some sort of open society, marred only by an unfortunate phobia about race. But it was a very strange breed of liberal democrats indeed who led the National Party to power in 1948—men who had supported Nazi Germany in word and sometimes in deed during the war. One of the Nationalist leaders predicted in 1942, "The future Afrikaner national state will be a leadership state, an authoritative state and a corporative state."

This is a vision of fascism. The major reason the first Nationalists and their successors have not been able to convert it entirely into reality is the tenacious international resistance. But overseas pressure has

also helped. Moves against the trade union movement prompt rumbles of protest from international labor federations. Efforts to muzzle the press even further produce other complaints. The above-ground anti-apartheid forces here are constantly testing the outer limits of government toleration, audaciously trying to get away with what they can. Any form of pressure from outside, even mere verbal protest, enlarges the political space these groups can work in.

Western conservatives moan that even mild protest measures are often counterproductive. They monotonously repeat that the touchy Afrikaners who run the regime will "retreat into the *laager*" if they are pressed too hard; they must be treated more gently. This is a fruitless and rather silly effort to apply a 19th century analysis to the present. The *voortrekker* frontiersmen who drew their covered wagons into a circle, or *laager*, when they warred against blacks, were poor sheep or cattle herders, with few ties to the outside world and a consequently great degree of independence. Their descendants today preside over a sophisticated, modern economy that depends on heavy foreign investment (\$2 billion from U.S. companies alone), bank loans and the transfer of technology. If the regime actually followed this fanciful *laager* scenario, it would collapse in a matter of months, if not weeks.

Lessening the bloodshed.

Obviously, the way to promote substantial change in South Africa is to step up outside pressure, which is ever more impressive as the level of armed conflict increases. The 1977 arms embargo, for example, was passed far too late, but it is still having beneficial effects. The regime had to spend \$660 million over the last four years to achieve its stated self-sufficiency in ammunition, a sum it could have used to strengthen itself in other areas. Its Air Force does have 68 modern Mirage warplanes, but the embargo will make replacing losses more difficult—a fact of great interest to the people in this region who expect to be bombed and

strafed. And the regime will have to strain to acquire even more sophisticated military hardware.

Also significant is the less tangible, but no less vital, effect of international protest on white unity and morale. The regime has so far gotten nowhere in its attempts to lure appreciable numbers of blacks to its side. It can count only on the loyalty of the 4.4 million whites, and their motivation is critical. The number of whites who oppose apartheid is small but growing; more important is the number who question the regime's direction, give only half-hearted, grudging support or even contemplate emigration. A large number of factors affect white morale, but one clearly is the hostility the apartheid system continues to provoke worldwide, the anguished feeling among white South Africans that they have few friendly allies.

The major responsibility for liberating South Africa is and will continue to be carried by the majority of South Africans themselves. But international support movements can help limit the boost multinationals and other outside forces give to apartheid and thereby speed up the liberation struggle and lessen the bloodshed.

What the war in South Africa will be like is already being foreshadowed in a sinister way by the conflict in Namibia and Angola. A representative of the international Red Cross in Namibia, Peter Lutolf, voiced strong doubts in August about the regime's claim that it was holding only 119 SWAPO prisoners-of-war. Lutolf called that figure "very strange." He said the Red Cross did not know what had happened to other SWAPO prisoners or wounded. He added: "It simply does not happen in any conflict or battle that you have a clash with 200 or so people in which 45 are killed and no prisoners or wounded taken."

Koch

Continued from page 3

city's black and Hispanic communities, where he had lost 15 or 16 assembly districts to Barbaro only six weeks before. Koch had done nothing to conciliate minority voters in the interim, but he did line up prominent minority members of Congress Shirley Chisholm and Robert Garcia to do television commercials and he had the open support of most Hispanic elected officials and the covert support of many black officeholders.

Several black political observers said they felt blacks and Hispanics still felt strong loyalty to the Democratic Party and would "vote the party line" no matter who was on the ticket. They also noted that voters who only vote in general elections, and not in primaries as well, tend to be much less politically involved or aware of issues. (About twice as many people participated in the general election

as in the Democratic primary.)

And one veteran of Harlem politics added: "Blacks and Hispanics are no different from anyone else. The press completely blacked out Barbaro's existence after the primary, and they made Koch's election a self-fulfilling prophecy. People up here are too busy scratching out a living to read the small print where other candidates were mentioned, and all they saw on the boob tube was Koch and a bunch of flunkies saying what a great job he's doing. They voted for him by default."

Despite his victories in minority communities, Koch was still stung by charges he is a racist. In his victory speech on election night, he pledged to "do all I can in the next four years to ease racial tensions, to heal wounds, to unite the city." Then, in a tone far more characteristic of the past four years, Koch told reporters, "I do not accept as fact that this is a racist country...and that gets me into trouble." He also said, "I do not have a guilt complex as relates to race in this country," and then slashed out at the city's largest and oldest black weekly, the

Amsterdam News, as "one of the worst racist, anti-Semitic rags in this country."

The power and the vengeance.

On the heels of his victory, Koch has clearly become the most powerful political figure in New York state, titular head of both the Democratic and Republican parties, with vast amounts of patronage to be distributed at the outset of his second term. A neo-conservative ideologue, he is unlikely to change his anti-tenant, anti-

blyman facing redistricting, Barbaro can expect to feel the full brunt of Koch's revenge in 1982. But even before that, Koch is planning a massive purge of the increasingly rambunctious City Council, the last obstacle to his total control of city government.

The council election has been indefinitely postponed because its redistricting plan was rejected by the federal courts and the Department of Justice. Once the lines are redrawn in an acceptable fash-

Blacks, said one Harlem observer, were "too busy scratching out a living to read the small print"—a reference to the press blackout on Barbaro.

union, pro-corporate governing policies. But he has already signaled that he will attempt to purge the Democratic Party of the handful of elected left-liberals who dared to oppose him. Frank Barbaro heads Koch's hit list. A Brooklyn assem-

ion, a new primary and general election will be ordered, with the mayor able to promote his primary supporters and concentrate his fire on consistently outspoken opponents like Westside councilmember Ruth Messinger. Considered unbeatable until now, Messinger may see many of her supporters carved away in the redistricting and face an opponent financed by the city's developers and landlords as well as the vengeful mayor.

This emerging situation makes the sudden prominence of the Unity Party even more important. Desperately short of cash (Koch outspent Barbaro 10 to one), the new party was still able to distribute hundreds of thousands of fliers and put more than 3,000 volunteers on the streets on election day. Many of these workers came from community and tenant groups that have abjured direct political action in the past; other volunteers were young leftists who in the past had either rejected electoral action or had sought to build a third-party alternative to the Democrats.

But the real muscle behind the new party came from several unions bitter about Koch's consistent union baiting and the general rightward drift of local Democratic candidates. They provided printing and the bulk of the \$50,000 budget that kept the party alive between the primary and the general election. The unions, as well as many minority activists, have long sought an alternative to the city's 36-year-old Liberal Party, which has become an unreliable one-man band under chair Ray Harding. The Liberals endorsed John Anderson for president in 1980 and cost liberal Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman the U.S. Senate election by supporting incumbent Republican Jacob Javits after he had been rejected in the Republican primary. This year, the Party rejected Barbaro as "too radical" and endorsed a pleasant but lackluster city council member from Staten Island, Mary Codd. Codd ran a pitiful fourth behind Conservative Party candidate John Esposito, but picked up 43,000 votes that otherwise would have gone to Barbaro.

The real test of the Unity Party will come in the yet-to-be-scheduled City Council elections. Several Barbaro supporters—including some incumbents—will be running. Most of this fight will take place in the Democratic primary, but early endorsement by the Unity Party will be a shot in the arm for anti-Koch candidates. And depending on a pending court decision, the Unity Party could run its own candidates for at-large council seats in the five boroughs as well as endorsing in district elections.

If the Unity Party survives the coming City Council donnybrook, it will face an even bigger challenge in next year's gubernatorial race. Labor is already lining up behind the bizarrely erratic incumbent, Hugh Carey, while most left-liberals cluster around several other ABC (anyone but Carey) candidates.

But the Unity Party faces immense tasks in maintaining its existence, establishing an internal democratic structure and finding the issues and candidates that can appeal to the black, white and Hispanic working class. Internal feuds are a luxury to save for the distant future. ■

Paul Du Brul is a frequent contributor to the Village Voice and co-author with Jack Newfield of The Permanent Government: Who Rules New York? soon to be released as a paperback by Pilgrim Press.

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ISRAEL

The Camp David "process" is still the only game in town

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

THE APPROACHING DEADLINE for completion of Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula—together with the assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and the prospect of closer U.S. policy ties with Saudi Arabia following Senate approval of the AWACS arms deal—has sparked growing panic here about the future of what is still seen as a tenuous peace with Egypt.

Publicly, all three parties to the Camp David accords are busy reiterating their dedication to the letter and spirit of the 1978 agreement and their determination to reach a compromise on Palestinian autonomy. But clearly something has changed, because suddenly it is the government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin—famous for stalling and for side-stepping the Palestinian issue—that is pushing hardest for top-level consultations to insure progress in the two-and-a-half-year-old negotiations.

In the six months between the establishment of the Camp David framework and the March 1979 signing of the peace treaty, Israeli and Egyptian negotiators wrangled over one main issue: "linkage" between Israel's withdrawal from Sinai and normalization of Israel-Egypt relations on the one hand, and agreement on the specifics of Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza on the other.

Egypt, concerned by charges it was selling out the Palestinians and signing a separate peace, pressed for such linkage. Israel, hoping to take advantage of peace on its western border to consolidate its hold on the remaining occupied territories, resisted.

Prodded by then-President Jimmy Carter's personal shuttle diplomacy and by concern (shared with the U.S. leader) about the fresh triumph of radical Islam in Iran, Anwar Sadat gave in. The only linkage between bilateral peace and a solution for the Palestinians was a signed agreement that autonomy talks under American auspices would begin one month later. Those talks have been going on ever since, with the Israelis adamantly refusing to relinquish any real control in the areas in question. Meanwhile, new settlements have been founded, old ones enlarged, Palestinian nationalist leaders exiled, arrested or silenced and civil resistance squelched. And Begin and his ministers have frequently reiterated their intention of demanding sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza after the five-year autonomy period, if it ever begins.

Nevertheless, Cairo's representatives cordially continued to negotiate. Sometimes an appearance of progress was cultivated. On other occasions—when Sadat needed to appease domestic critics or respond to attacks by other Arab state leaders—even he would admit to a preference for a Palestinian state and hint at the need for PLO participation in the talks. But Sadat did not allow the obvious gap between the two sides to slow up the negotiations—even without linkage, the rest of Sinai was a valuable prize not worth risking.

On to April.

The new Egyptian president is certain to follow in Sadat's footsteps at least to this extent: Hosni Mubarak will do nothing that might give Israel an excuse to renege before April. He has even stated unabashedly that Egypt now seeks only a general agreement on principles of au-

tonomy and sees no need for Palestinian participation at this stage.

So there is little question that Israel will fulfill its commitments. The movement to stop the withdrawal in Sinai, which has reoccupied and fortified half-abandoned settlements there, has not succeeded in winning over the region's veterans, who all stand to receive enormous sums in compensation. At most the die-hards will create some ugly scenes in April, but the publicity surrounding their antics has helped make it more legitimate to wonder aloud about the future of peace with Egypt. Not only the extreme right, but also leading members of coalition parties have spoken aloud about reconsidering the evacuation. Former Premier Yitzhak Rabin suggested a reassessing of Israel's commitment unless the entire Camp David accords are "re-endorsed" at a summit meeting of Begin, Reagan and Mubarak.

But Rabin cannot truly be suspected of hoping the Camp David process falls apart, or of seriously entertaining an Israeli cancellation of the agreement. Rather he was reflecting a growing fear that once Egypt regains its land it will no longer need to pamper Israel with the trappings of peace.

Publicly the new Egyptian administration is more enthusiastic than ever about permanent peace with Israel. Agreements regarding open borders, tourism and trade are being signed at an unprecedented pace. But eyebrows were raised last week when the Egyptian airline that flies between the two countries reportedly refused to renew a contract with its Tel Aviv representative for more than six months—the pullout deadline. And while declaring himself faithful to Sadat's peace line, Mubarak has quietly halted the torrent of insults against Arab critics previously commonplace in the Cairo press.

The Saudi plan.

While the PLO and Syria—which openly expressed satisfaction with Sadat's death—continue to predict a similar end for Mubarak, other more conservative Middle Eastern states have agreed to the Egyptian leader's verbal cease-fire. Saudi Arabia has loudly praised Mubarak's "past loyalty to the Arabs," but at the same time it has mounted the most serious challenge so far to Camp David in the form of a peace plan of its own—serious because both the PLO and Egypt,

Western Europe and perhaps even the U.S. seem nearly ready to take. But not Israel. Likud and Labor alike read into the Saudi proposals "a plan for the Jewish state's annihilation in stages." In expounding this interpretation, Begin has become the most adamant defender of Camp David as the only road to peace, to such an extent that Israel has reversed its longstanding negotiating position on linkage: insisting now that autonomy talks be concluded by the April withdrawal date is Israel's way of keeping Egypt from abandoning the bilateral peace treaty.

Diplomatically, Israel has painted itself into a corner. It cannot actually demand an agreement on Palestinian autonomy as a precondition for withdrawal from the Sinai while it continues to offer only very limited self-administration for the West Bank and Gaza. Conceding any more on the issue could lead to a conciliatory Saudi and even—God forbid—PLO response. And that in turn could increase pressures

richer neighbors, no matter how hostile, as long as they, too, are willing to join the Reagan anti-Soviet crusade. Jerusalem and its lobbyists in Washington had to tone down their opposition to the sale so as not to risk a crisis in relations with the U.S. in case the sale had been defeated.

Now Begin and company have no choice but to try to harvest the fruits of defeat: a "probable opportunity" to purchase still more sophisticated American weapons and perhaps better payment terms to keep the country solvent; or at least a looser lease on Israel's fast-growing business of exporting arms to political sensitive U.S. clients in Latin America.

The Arab world has long been polarized between those who support Israeli-Arab rapprochement of some sort and those who violently oppose it. In recent years, heightened antagonism between U.S. and Soviet clients has added another dimension to regional disputes. But as the only visible "peace" process in oper-



Hosni Mubarak has declared a verbal ceasefire toward his Arab critics.

for complete withdrawal and a Palestinian state.

Certain elements in the Israeli establishment, including former defense minister Ezer Weizman, have recently suggested taking the bull by the horns and offering to negotiate with the PLO if it recognizes Israel. An October opinion poll showed slightly higher public acceptance of the PLO as a partner (though

ation is under sole American sponsorship, the two lines of conflict have seemed more and more difficult to distinguish. Those who sought peace had to deal with Washington. Hence the die-hard anti-imperialists were forced into political positions that came out sounding warlike.

If the Camp David momentum is replaced, for example, by a European initiative (with U.S. acquiescence) along the lines of the Saudi plan, the seeming dichotomy of pro-American/pro-peace versus anti-imperialist/rejectionist could break down.

But ironically, Reagan and some of his more vehement anti-Soviet allies (possibly including Egypt if it continues in Sadat's path) may be so disturbed by such a scenario that they will declare everlasting loyalty to Camp David after all. A hollow agreement on autonomy may even be proclaimed, enabling Israel to complete its withdrawal from Sinai with Egypt tied to the implementation of still further arrangements in the name of the absent Palestinians.

Again left out, the Palestinians would most likely continue to feel that they have no avenue but violence to press their claims. The war would continue, certainly in South Lebanon and inside the occupied territories, and perhaps in Jordan, Syria, Iraq or even Saudi Arabia, all of which are arming themselves at an unprecedented rate.

Begin may yet salvage the "Camp David process." But it has become harder and harder to call it a "peace process." ■

Egypt's new president will do nothing that might give Israel an excuse to renege before the April withdrawal deadline—the Sinai is too valuable a prize.

not to mention Western Europe and even the U.S., felt compelled to grant the proposal at least grudging support.

The Saudi document contains little that is really new except for the desert kingdom's implied recognition of Israel as one of the "states in the region" that have the "right to live in peace." Otherwise it endorses what has become a near-universal consensus: an independent Palestinian state in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. This is one crucial step further than Camp David, with its ambiguous and so far fruitless autonomy formula. And it is a step that Egypt,

still a minority). But the idea has not found much support in the government. And the Labor Party, which officially supports conditional recognition at least as a public relations measure, has been too busy with infighting to mount a serious campaign on the issue, even if it wanted to.

Peace on Cold War terms.

In addition, the AWACS deal has now shown Israel incapable of preventing what it has described as "the friendliest U.S. administration ever" from also befriending and arming Israel's larger and

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

MUSICAL CHAIRS

YOUR "DIALOG" (ITT, SEPT. 30) TOOK me back to the student movement at the University of Washington during the late '60s. Greg Calvert and Carol Neiman came through on a speaking tour, staying at the student house I was part of. We locals agreed they were the New Left Couple of the Year—monogamy, fidelity and all that.

As for Professor Michael P. Lerner, he constituted a sort of one-man monogamy busting squad, the bane of many a coed's family. The professor had anything but the family on his mind in those days.

Save the family indeed—from position papers, conference agendas and majority resolutions. Or is the distance traveled by Calvert and Lerner in the past decade just an example of the historical dialectic at work?

—Rick Senate
New York

THE NAME OF THE GAME

PRACTICING LABOR LAW IN THE heartland of the Moral Majority fosters an appreciation of the efforts of Michael Lerner (ITT, Sept. 30) to capture the advantage on family issues now held by that collection of hype artists who call themselves the "Moral Majority."

As the policies of this government lead to more starving children, less jobs and to withdrawal of all concern and nurture for the aged, socialists have an opportunity to demonstrate how the Moral Majority advances policies that destroy the family and limit, even more severely than now, the opportunities for fulfillment for women, men and children.

To discourse on the issues as the Right has framed them, "Women's liberation, homosexuality, abortion, sex education," is to allow the Right to determine the outcome of the debate. It would seem that the left should speak to these issues concretely. No battered wife or gay deprived of a job cares about the "patriarchy vs. feminist family" debate as much as they do about protection from immediate oppressions.

The majority of this country can be convinced that there can be no adequate family policy without the nourishment and education of children, without the elimination of the prisons imposed upon women, without easy access to child care, birth control, sex education, and abortions and without the right of persons of whatever sexual preference to determine their personal life styles, and to have access to adequate jobs and housing.

If the left does not defend the community, and the families and other forms of sharing that are part of the community, then the right will succeed. And, when Reagan's economics fail to

deliver, we will witness another search for scapegoats: the abortionist, the homosexual, the Communist, etc. Scott Tucker then may find himself in the same concentration camp as Michael Lerner.

—Earl V. Brown, Jr.
Birmingham, Ala.

FAMILY

WHILE I AM PLEASED WITH THE EXCHANGE within the last several issues of ITT over a left position on the family, I am concerned that we do not, in our conviction, use words in ways which are counterproductive and hurting. I refer especially to letters from Scott Tucker and Larry Gross (ITT, Oct. 21). I am a gay man (not a "gay reformist," I hope) living with another gay man in a lasting, "open" but very committed relationship. It is not too important to me whether we are called a "family" (I think by most standards I respect we are one) but I do know that many lesbian and gay male couples insist on the word "family" and probably have the right to that word.

The key thing here is that we not let our differences—significant or exaggerated—block our joint work: defeating the Family Protection Act and building a broad, loving left movement.

—Robert D. Goodman
Lesbian/Gay Caucus
Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee

COMPLEXITY

I APPRECIATE BOTH GREG CALVERT'S and Michael Lerner's contributions on how feminists and the left should approach issues of family in these days of right-wing "pro-family" rhetoric (ITT, Sept. 30). However, both Calvert's and Lerner's approaches are inadequate to rethinking a socialist feminist strategy.

While I agree with Calvert that it would be mistaken for us to become defensive of our vision in the face of right-wing attack, I find that with the exception of some fine examples of how gay men and lesbians have created new models of community and friendship, Calvert fails to present a vision that deals with the problems many people are facing today, particularly in terms of raising children, whether in gay, straight, extended or single parent families.

Lerner recognizes these problems and focuses on the ways in which capitalism makes life in families all the worse. But he pays inadequate attention to power relations within families and to the depth of diversity of how people live, a diversity that expanded definitions of the family gloss over. In response to Lerner at the NAM convention, Barbara Ehrenreich pointed out that Lerner has confused living units with families. She also pointed out that the fear of loss of authority has been played on by the right wing, perhaps more than the fear of loss of intimacy.

During the past decade the women's movement has developed many insights into the contradictions and complexity of differences in peoples' life experiences based on class, race, and sexual preference, as well as gender. While critical of "the family," feminists' respect for women in families has grown.

—Liz Weston
Socialist-Feminist Commission
New American Movement

BAREFOOTED

AMAZING! IN MY COLUMN ON GEN-eration, the family and the right wing (ITT, Sept. 23), I said that the stiff competition for jobs within the baby boom generation has led to changes in lifestyle reflected by soaring divorce rates, delayed marriage and childlessness. The writing was at best plain. So imagine my amazement, when a letter from Elizabeth and Alfred Lee of Drew University called my article "titillating and melodramatic."

Titillate comes from the Latin word for tickle and means exciting or pleasurable stimulation. It is usually asso-

ciated with massage parlors and peep shows. Melodrama is sensational, violently emotional and romantic. But I don't believe they have found a way to get X-rated entertainment from my letters. Rather, they are pioneers in overstatement and missing the point.

They assert that the divorce rate is not rising when in fact it has more than doubled since 1960. They insist that the marriage rate is rising, when it has fallen by 24 percent since 1960. For those who care, the Lees are simply looking at the wrong figures. They cite the number of divorces as a percentage of the whole population. This may be of academic interest, but it has nothing to do with the problem at hand. To see what is happening to the American family, look instead at the rate of marriages that end in divorce, not at "marriage per thousand of population." Look instead at the rate of first marriages in the age groups of 14 to 44 where marriage generally occurs. That's where the drop is.

If the total number of marriage certificates issued, and divorces decreed, tend to even out in the end, don't let that obscure the growing revolving door in the middle. Of course Americans are still "sold on marriage and children." But the point is that the economic trends are making family life increasingly difficult, particularly for working people in traditional single-earner households.

I refer the Lees to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. If they found my article titillating, the *Abstract* will knock their socks off.

—Steve Max
New York

AND RUSTY

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN IS REALLY only fooling himself when advocating "free enterprise" as the savior of the third world's troubles. Basically speaking, our so-called free enterprise system has been dead as a doornail for decades. Intelligent leaders of developing nations know that Reagan is not committed to a new economic world order, but national and international corporations.

In South Africa there are numerous American companies that employ South African residents for ridiculous substandard wages. How will the "magic of free enterprise" raise the standard of living for blacks and colored peoples when they have no say in how their country operates? Answer: It won't!

Honeywell Inc., Westinghouse, General Motors Overseas, Rockwell International Aviation Inc. and General Electric have free reign in the world and do as they damn please. Working together these international corporations and U.S. Banks support repressive regimes.

If Reagan were truly concerned about the development of third-world peoples he wouldn't help finance repressive governments. However, President Reagan's supply-side economic theory, which is based on the "free enterprise system" is not set up to benefit individuals living on the bottom of the economic ladder.

—James G. Borden
New Bedford, Mass.

BY ANY OTHER NAME

I PROTEST THE UNFORTUNATE Description of Nawal el Saadawi (ITT, Oct. 14) as an "internationally-known Marxist sexologist." Trained as a gynecologist and former Director of Public Health in Egypt, Saadawi is an "expert in the science of dealing with sex and sexual conduct," but she is also the author of several nonfiction books, as well as novels and collections of short stories. She is among the most significant feminists in the world today. She was to have come to the U.S. this fall, but instead is now detained in some unknown location. It is a crying shame—she has a lot to tell us all. Diana Johnstone dismisses a very major figure with an easily-misunderstood and trivializing term. I'm disappointed with both Ms. Johnstone and her editor.

—Nancy du Plessis
New York

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PERSPECTIVES

School vouchers on California ballot

By Larry Stedman

THE RECENT AD IN TIME read: "Did you choose the lousy education your child is getting?" With that, an outfit called Education By Choice launched its campaign to reorganize California's educational system. Working from a small office in San Francisco, Education by Choice hopes to get 553,000 signatures this fall to put a constitutional amendment on the 1982 California ballot. The initiative is the brain child of John Coons and Stephen Sugarman, Berkeley professors of law. It would create a state-wide system of educational vouchers.

Educational vouchers are publicly funded tuition certificates given to parents for each school-aged child to be used at any participating school, public or private, sectarian or secular. The voucher system is designed to break down the public school monopoly by turning its captive clients into active consumers. By threatening to take their vouchers and children elsewhere, parents could force bureaucratic school systems to be responsive and accountable.

Vouchers are justifiably viewed with suspicion. The most notable proponents of vouchers are Adam Smith and Milton Friedman. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith proposes vouchers as a way to avoid state regulation of schooling and to create an educational marketplace. Friedman's scheme, outlined in *Capitalism and Freedom*, allows schools to set their own admissions criteria and tuition rates. Such unregulated approaches, however, lend themselves to discrimination against minorities and the poor. In the South, after *Brown v. Board of Education*, four states (Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana) established voucher systems to thwart court-ordered desegregation. Public funds were used to create private segregated school systems, which were eventually ruled unconstitutional.

But there is another type of voucher system, advocated by Thomas Paine, Paul Goodman and liberal Harvard social policy analysts, that is designed for the poor. The most recent versions of this regulated system include vouchers

of higher worth for lower-income students, and strict admissions and advertising regulations to prevent discrimination and huckstering.

The Coons-Sugarman initiative falls into this second category; its authors are neither free marketers nor rabid segregationists. The professors are noted for their legal arguments against educational financing systems that discriminate against the poor.

Their initiative reserves 25 percent of the places in each participating school for low-income students. Schools must accept their vouchers as full payment for tuition. Sectarian schools could participate; the majority are Catholic institutions that, in California, enroll predominantly more minority students than do the public schools—43 percent vs. 37 percent.

Although Coons and Sugarman's intentions towards the poor are sincere, their voucher proposal, like voucher systems in general, has serious deficiencies.

Educational vouchers are designed to produce quality education by shifting the control of schooling from the state and the bureaucracy to families. Voucher plans, even regulated ones such as the California proposal, achieve this by creating an educational marketplace in which parents choose among competing schools.

The history of marketplace capitalism, however, shows that choice and competition are insufficient to guarantee quality or accountability to consumer demands. Recent events in every major industrial sector, from automobiles to chemicals—from the Pinto to Love Canal—confirm this.

The failure of the marketplace has fueled the demand for consumer representation on corporate boards. Yet voucher advocates are asking us to replace the one social institution run nearly everywhere by publicly-elected boards with a market system already proven unresponsive to the public need.

Without question, the current system of elected school boards has great weaknesses. The boards, elected district-wide, are unrepresentative of the community. Members are typically male (75 percent), primarily professional and managerial (75 percent compared to 25 percent for the American population), and over-

whelmingly white. This composition has helped make the public school system unresponsive in many communities. Numerous case studies have also shown that the boards are dominated by self-serving bureaucrats who disregard the educational concerns of families.

But the competition of the marketplace cannot substitute for creating an effective democratic mechanism. Voucher critics have called for parentally-elected policy boards for each school. Even Coons, in his book *Education By Choice*, acknowledges that an educational marketplace could prove unworkable without such a mechanism. A voucher system that requires private schools to establish policy boards would, however, never be accepted. The headmasters of the independent private schools and the educational directors of the dioceses would reject the granting of their power to a parentally-elected policy board. Achieving accountability in education, therefore, will require a reform other than vouchers.

Vouchers are also plagued by other defects historically associated with the market system: the degradation of labor and an unequal distribution of benefits by race and social class.

The National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the nation's two largest teachers' unions, with more than two million members, constitute a significant portion of organized labor. The voucher system would shift resources from public schools, which are almost entirely organized, to private schools, which are almost entirely unorganized. The structure of collective bargaining would change dramatically. Teachers in the public schools negotiate contracts for an entire school district, consisting of dozens of schools. Private schools, however, are independently run and each requires separate negotiations and contracts. The unions could attempt to organize private school teachers under a voucher system, but this would have to be done on an arduous school-by-school basis, rather than by school districts. Compounding the difficulty, many of the private schools will be too small to trigger National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) certification procedures and protections.

Unorganized, private school teachers have traditionally been poorly paid; thus, by stimulating the growth of private schools, the voucher system would expand the number of low-paying, non-union teaching jobs. To compete with the private schools, public school administrators would be forced to adopt 19th-century industrial labor techniques: long hours and low wages.

Who benefits?

By helping finance the education of those already in private schools, vouchers subsidize the wealthy. The public would pay upper-income parents to send their children to exclusive private schools.

To prevent segregation by social class, the California initiative reserves 25 per-

cent of the places in each school for low-income students. But the initiative doesn't prevent administrators, through bad intentions or benign neglect, from segregating unwanted low-income students into poorly staffed, dead-end remedial programs within their schools. Since there are no controls on their use, low-income student vouchers could be spent on special programs for high-income gifted students. Finally, many schools and their students could reap the benefits of the voucher system without a 25 percent low-income enrollment by being so unresponsive that low-income students wouldn't want to attend.

To escape court-ordered busing, many white families have sent their kids to all-white private academies. To escape failing public schools, many black families have sent their children to inner-city parochial schools, which are becoming predominantly black. Vouchers would accelerate these trends by making it easier for families to send their children to segregated private schools.

To reduce this danger, the California initiative prohibits voucher schools from practicing racial discrimination in admissions and teaching. But the administrative and judicial enforcement of such law is uncertain. The Reagan administration is slashing the budget and curbing the activities of the Office for Civil Rights. The courts are increasingly conservative and unresponsive to civil rights concerns. The burden of proof in discrimination cases has shifted from the institution to the victim. Complainants can no longer rely on the racist effects of an action, but must document racist intention.

To prevent avowedly racist organizations, such as the KKK, from operating schools at the taxpayer's expense, the initiative excludes schools that "advocate unlawful behavior or expound the inferiority of either sex or of any race." This prohibition, however, would also eliminate schools that support civil disobedience. Voucher schools could not teach students a favorable viewpoint of the labor movement, with its illegal factory occupations and conspiracies in restraint of trade, or exalt the non-violent but unlawful tactics of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi.

What should be done?

Community organizers could help form coalitions of community groups, parents and teachers to fight for educational change. Pressure could be brought upon each school in a district, and the coalition could elect school board members.

These publicly-funded tuition certificates are meant to give parents a choice.

In the smaller, rural school districts, where bureaucracy is limited and voter turn-out low, such an effort could be successful. In the large inner-city school districts, where the educational bureaucracy is strong, a formal restructuring of the school system would be necessary.

Mario Fantini, professor of education and a strong supporter of community control, has proposed a system called Public Schools of Choice. School districts would be required to offer different types of schools in response to demands by parents and teachers. The proposal is like a voucher system, in that parents could choose among schools, but unlike vouchers, it is confined to the public schools. If such a system were combined with elected parent-teacher policy boards for each school, the power of the bureaucracy could be overcome. Parents would have choice, the schools would be held accountable and, with teacher representation on the boards, a major step toward workplace democracy would be taken.

Larry Stedman is a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin.

VIETNAM

The war in Indochina: how we got in and out

Cracks in the Empire: State Politics in the Vietnam War
By Paul Joseph
South End Press, Boston, MA
384 pp., \$7.00

By David Mermelstein

With El Salvador and Guatemala threatening to become Reagan's Vietnam, a new look at the role once played by anti-war activists has an obvious relevancy. Paul Joseph's book, whose contents are more aptly described by its subtitle than its title, discloses the decision-making process in the national security apparatus that created that epoch of shame. One constraining force was the peace movement.

Joseph seeks to explain the crucial decision in March 1968 not to escalate the Vietnam War and provides a framework for understanding the role of the state.

He begins by comparing five interpretations of U.S. intervention in Vietnam: socialist, state intervention, quagmire, the system worked and conservative. Acknowledging that each of the latter four offers elements to be incorporated into a left interpretation, Joseph broadens his discussion of Vietnam by surveying

with special properties. Not unexpectedly, there are three policy currents vying for power inside government—left, center and right. In the early post-World War II period, the right current favored rollback; the center, containment; and the left what Joseph calls multilateralism, a universal "open door" based on free trade.

The process of intervention in Vietnam is briefly traced over the years 1943 to 1967. All three factions shared the same goals: "maintaining the power of the U.S. in the world arena, undermining the influence of socialism and preserving the right of U.S.-based multinational corporations to participate in the economies of other nations."

In pursuing these goals in Vietnam, American policymakers came up against opposition that ultimately forced them to desist. Most important of these, of course, was the indomitable spirit of the Vietnamese, aided by Russia and China. Just as MacArthur was blocked from using the Korean War to roll back the Chinese Revolution because of a fear that the U.S. would be drawn into a nuclear war, the escalation needed to win in Vietnam threatened a direct confront-

ation with the Soviet Union. Of lesser significance but still important—some feared the escalation favored by the right policy current would bring about a healing of the rift between China and Russia, which American policymakers sought to widen.

Second, there was the domestic opposition—not just the marchers and demonstrators—but the opposition press, elite study groups, etc. Finally, there

was opposition, by 1967, within the capitalist class as the economy began to deteriorate under the impact of the widening war.

ing war.

As the 1968 election year began the right policy current favored victory through some combination of more extensive bombing, the mining of Haiphong and an Inchon-type landing on the North Vietnamese coast. The left favored disengagement. They recognized that the ground



war was stalemated, that the NLF and North Vietnamese will to resist was unimpaired, that intensified bombings (known as "rolling thunder") would not work and that domestic dissent and economic instability militated against another major escalation. And they feared a confrontation with the Soviet Union as well as Chinese "volunteers."

The center wished to deny the NLF its victory and demonstrate American credibility, but after the Tet offensive of February 1968, its position collapsed. The heart of Joseph's book is his analysis of the struggle within government following Tet.

Were the context not tragic, one could enjoy the drama as a thriller, with Clark Clifford, a converted hawk, as hero. Joseph has no sympathy for such a reading: "The left was not more altruistic than the center or right. Not morality but a different conception of the proper global role for the U.S. motivated their decisions. The costs associated with the Vietnam intervention interfered with more important items on the agenda." Still, at the risk of being thought soft on the ruling class, I should think moral imperatives do play a role in determining whether an individual chooses murderous or peaceful tactics.

The atmosphere was charged, not unlike the final days of Nixon's presidency. Johnson at one point dismissed as "racist" the arguments of Ball and Kennan because they were willing to defend countries inhabited by whites—Western Europe—but unwilling to stand by commitments made to yellows—this from a man who once said "... without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant, impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

Johnson accepted Clifford's suggestion that a special meeting be convened of the Wise Men, as the Senior Advisory Group on Vietnam was known. LBJ mistakenly believed they would argue for the right policy current of escalation, which he favored. However, only Maxwell Taylor did. Fortas and Robert Murphy

tences like: "The concept of policy currents calls attention to the fact in regard to each [question] there are perceptible differences within the U.S. ruling elite?" Who would think otherwise?

Or, elsewhere: "Analytically, the result is a theoretical tension between seeing the Vietnam War as serving specific class interests and recognizing that significant political differences exist among that class and its key representatives, the state managers." Joseph sees his book as a contribution to the theoretical debate on the role of the state. Sentences like the ones cited suggest a slew of dogmatic Marxist formulations that Joseph feels obligated to combat.

To my thinking, he engages in a form of statistical overkill to show that the economy was being severely damaged by the war, but in the end there is a mechanical quality to his argument. The data presented do not go beyond 1968, presumably to limit his argument to what was known at the time. But even then there was an awareness among many that the devastating costs of the war would extend far into the future. His statistics tend to understate that cost.

As an economist, it is appropriate to mention that Walter Heller was never Secretary of the Treasury. As a former Baltimorean, I should also correct the impression that the former Republican governor of Maryland and mayor of Baltimore, Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin (not McCleldon) was a Democrat. These careless errors, though, are uncharacteristic.

Joseph argued that Nixon enjoyed an element of freedom unavailable to a Democratic president because he was able to circumvent the previous constraints through Vietnamization and bilateral relationships with both Peking and Moscow. Joseph believes that had Nixon's penchant for secrecy not done him in (and he comes perilously close to arguing its inevitability), Nixon would have intervened massively, if necessary, to save South Vietnam, as promised Thieu. I am skeptical that military commitments can be turned off and on like a faucet but it is possible that Hanoi might have had to hold off its final offensive indefinitely had Watergate not stripped Nixon of his power.

Joseph also believes that had Hubert Humphrey been elected, the Paris Accords of 1973 would have been the Peace Treaty of 1969. How Vietnam and the U.S. would have fared had this happened is idle speculation, but considerations such as these prompt Joseph to argue: "There are times to stake out new political ground and there are times, particularly where world peace is an issue, where one has to be content with reform."

I heartily agree. In the nuclear age, we should ally with liberals seeking to prevent future Vietnams in Central America and elsewhere, not to mention those seeking to prevent the clock of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists from striking midnight.

David Mermelstein is Associate Professor of Economics, Polytechnic Institute of New York and co-editor with M. Gettleman, P. Lacefield, L. Menashe and R. Radosh of *El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War*.

The author reveals tensions within government after Tet.

the current debate among Marxists on the general role of the state in capitalist society.

Joseph calls his key concept "policy currents," which he defines as "alternative conceptions, found among the capitalist class, state managers, and other defenders of the capitalist order, for exercising U.S. power within the limits imposed by different oppositional forces." A policy current is simply a point of view,

tation with the Soviet Union. Of lesser significance but still important—some feared the escalation favored by the right policy current would bring about a healing of the rift between China and Russia, which American policymakers sought to widen.

Second, there was the domestic opposition—not just the marchers and demonstrators—but the opposition press, elite study groups, etc. Finally, there

CULTURE SHOCK



PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE

On the Burlington, Vt., downtown mall, stone markers note cities on the same longitude as Burlington—with some exceptions. Three days

after the plaque for Ho Chi Minh City was installed the counsel to the governor and chair of the commercial mall commission ordered it remov-

ed. Although he didn't mind, he said, and although no one had complained, "There are people for whom Ho Chi Minh was always the enemy." (Thanks to Frieda Gardner.)



Elias Canetti writes on crowds and the social origins of power (above, a political convention).

By Gregory C. Staple

"Novels teach us to think ourselves into other men's places. Thus we acquire a taste for change. ...Novels are so many wedges which the novelist, an actor with his pen, inserts into the closed personality of the reader. The better he calculates the size of the wedge and the strength of the resistance, so much the more completely does he crack open the personality of his victim. Novels should be prohibited by the State."

So mused Professor Peter Kien in Nobel prize-winning Elias Canetti's first novel, *Die Blendung*, published in 1935 and later translated into English under the titles *Auto-da-Fe* and *The Tower of Babel*. As here, it is Canetti's ability to defend the imaginative force of literature against its enemies that drew the Nobel Prize committee's attention.

Born 76 years ago in Rustchik, Bulgaria, of Sephardic Jewish parents and educated in Austria and Switzerland, Canetti has used a variety of literary genres to develop a view of human action as disturbing as it is compelling. For Canetti the instinctual, the symbolic and the mythical still control the human condition far more than most secular chroniclers of "post-industrial" society can see. The future of mankind is by no means assured. Indeed, in our age the very will to survive, disguised in the form of a national leader—the survivor, armed with the power of the modern state—constitutes "mankind's worst evil, its curse and perhaps its doom."

Canetti's insights are little known in the U.S., because, although Canetti emigrated to London in 1948, his major works are in German and most have only recently been translated into English by the Continuum and Farrar of New York. (Continuum, coincidentally, is also the publisher of last year's Nobel prize winner, Czesław Miłosz.) These works include his only novel, *Auto-da-Fe*, three plays, several volumes of literary and political essays (e.g., *The Conscience of Words*, *Barbarism: Fifty Characters*), the first vol-

"Novels should be prohibited by the State"

ume of his autobiography (*The Tongue Set Free*) and an incomparable analysis of the roots of social power, *Crowds and Power*.

One is immediately struck by the cosmopolitan reach of Canetti's mind. Like Professor Kien, the eccentric protagonist in *Auto-da-Fe* whose private library numbers more than 25,000 volumes, Canetti is at home with numerous languages and as conversant with the history and culture of Western civilizations as with Eastern. Yet Canetti's power of concentration is such that

his precise observations led the Nobel Prize Committee to hail him as "one of the foremost aphorists of our time."

Everyone or no one.

Canetti's fierce preoccupation with human survival has often been confused with his also-evident personal quest for immortality. Susan Sontag's 1980 *New York Review of Books* review of Canetti's work, one of the handful of critical reviews to appear in the U.S., contends that Canetti's passion for a long life is cen-

tral to understanding his "ahistorical approach to social analysis." "To think about history," writes Sontag, "is to think about the dead, that one is mortal. Canetti's thought is therefore conservative in the most literal sense: it—he—does not want to die."

But one might equally conclude that Canetti's concern for his own survival is anything but conservative, as Canetti has long held the view that today the nuclear arsenals of East and West mean that "either everyone will survive or no one." Canetti has emphasized this by writing, "Today it would be harder to condemn one man publicly to be burned at the stake than to unleash a world war." Moreover, Canetti has steadfastly maintained that a man can be a *Dichter* (Writer) "only if he feels responsibility for life," and further, only if he uses the writer's special gift of transformation or metamorphosis to oppose those who would bring on life's destruction.

In a 1976 speech, "The Writer's Profession," (translated in *The Conscience of Words*),

which may well prefigure his Nobel lecture, Canetti said, "The *Dichter* must be the keeper of metamorphosis—keeper in a twofold sense. For one thing he will make mankind's literary heritage—so rich in metamorphosis—his own.... Secondly, in a world that prohibits metamorphosis more and more, because it hinders the overall goal of production...in such a world it seems of cardinal significance that there are people who nonetheless still keep practicing the gift of metamorphosis...."

Canetti concluded that a writer must steel himself against mankind's death. "Even if all people consider it a futile undertaking, he will shake away at it and never, under any circumstances, capitulate. It will be his pride to resist and fight—with devices different from theirs—the envoys of nothingness, who are growing more and more numerous in literature."

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Gregory Staple is a communications lawyer in Washington, D.C.

The following chapter excerpts from *Crowds and Power*, which relies heavily on historical and anthropological accounts of preindustrial and aboriginal societies, provides some idea of Canetti's talent.

The Crowd:

"Corn and forest, rain, wind, sand, fire and the sea...each...recalls the crowd and stands as a symbol for it in myth, dream, speech and song. ...Fire is the same wherever it breaks out; it spreads rapidly; it is contagious and insatiable; it can break out anywhere and with great suddenness; it is multiple; it is destructive; it has an enemy; it dies; it acts as though it were alive and is so treated. All this is true of the crowd."

The Entrails of Power:

"Smoothness and order, the manifest attributes of the teeth have entered into the very nature of power. ...In modern life the bias towards smoothness has spread to fields where it formerly tended to be avoid-



ed. Houses and furniture used to be decorated as were limbs and bodies of men.... Today smoothness has conquered our

houses, their walls and all the objects we put into them.... We speak of function, clarity of line and utility, but what has

really triumphed is smoothness and the prestige of the power it conceals.... The smoothness of the teeth has conquered the world."

The Survivor:

"The moment of survival is the moment of power. Horror of the sight of death turns to satisfaction that it is someone else who is dead. ...It is the deception of all leaders. They pretend that they will be the first to die, but, in reality, they send their people to death, so that they themselves may stay alive longer."

The End of the Survivor:

"What has radically changed in our time is the situation of the survivor....[T]oday his activities have become so terrifying that we scarcely have looked at them; a single individual can easily destroy a good part of mankind. ...Whether there is any way of dealing with the survivor, who has grown to such a monstrous stature, is the most important question today; one is tempted to say the only one."

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Degenerating punk



Major punk pioneers like John Lydon (once Johnny Rotten) have moved on to a more sophisticated sound.

By Bruce Dancis

Six years after the Ramones started blitzkrieg bopping around New York, nearly four years after the Sex Pistols played their last concert, mainstream critics have discovered punk rock. A punk rock boomlet in Los Angeles has inspired dozens of articles in the national press and formed the basis for the documentary film, *The Decline of Western Civilization*. One such blissed-

out new convert, the *San Francisco Examiner's* Bill Mandel, recently defended punk as "the most lively art form we've got" and a cultural force "in direct opposition to the rightward tilt of the Reagan-Moral Majority axis."

I know whereof he speaks, for I was there once myself. In reviews and articles back in 1977, I found myself in the occasionally harrowing position of defending punk rock to leftists whose idea of a progressive cultural phen-

omenon was going to see the movie *Salt of the Earth* for the eighth time.

In those times, one continually had to try to separate the outer, superficial trappings of punk rebellion—the razor blades and dyed hair—from the music's serious core. At its best, punk rock represented not only a provocative aesthetic attack on the dominant trends within popular music, but also a working-class protest against youth unemployment, poverty, censorship, authoritarianism, fascism, racism and the multinational corporations that run the record industry. In the context of formula disco and stadium rock, punk's three chords and a cloud of dust offered an immediate rush of energy and passion. It challenged the elitism of rock superstardom, broke down many of the barriers between audience and performer, and fostered an inherently democratic "everyone's a musician" attitude.

But in the intervening years, I've moved increasingly away from punk rock. And so has the music of virtually all of the major punk pioneers, such as the Clash, the Ramones, the Jam and John Lydon (a.k.a. Johnny Rotten of the Sex Pistols), each of whom has grown in depth and sophistication. Musically, what seemed fresh and exuberant in 1977 now sounds boring and repetitious. Eighties punk has produced no innovations, just a regurgitation of clichés and a striving for sectarian purity in which every band that progresses beyond three chords is dismissed as a "sell-out."

Negative growth.

If punk has stagnated musically, it has "grown" in other, more negative ways. The worst new development is slam dancing, that uniquely antisocial activity

in which the object is to run into and bounce off of someone else on the dance floor. What is progressive about knocking over another person while dancing? I have frequently watched in horror as people, unwittingly getting caught up in some macho male teenager's idea of fun, find themselves shoved and battered to the ground, then trampled upon by pogoing feet. Rock music can, even should, release a lot of repressed energy, but violence has no place on a dance floor.

There has always been an undercurrent of violence at punk concerts, but bands used to make an effort to control it. I remember a Clash concert in which a fight broke out in the audience, and Joe Strummer stopped the band in the middle of the song and successfully separated the antagonists. Today punk bands like Black Flag and Circle Jerk attract a violence-seeking crowd, yet abstain from intervening in the resulting fights. To me, that illustrates a moral cowardice and irresponsibility as profound as anything I've witnessed in rock and roll.

And what of punk nihilism? To be sure, within punk there is a nascent social criticism that is preferable to acceptance of the status quo. The flaunting of conventions in dress and lan-

guage has always been a part of rock music's generational appeal, and punk rock is no exception. Yet in the face of a national administration whose ethos thus far has been destruction—through neutron bombs and a massive arms buildup, the attempted sale of coastal oil leases, the demolition of the poverty program—only a *life-affirming* opposition politics has any chance of success. At best, the punk critique may produce a few scatological laughs at the expense of Reagan *et al.*, but it's hard to imagine it encouraging anything other than apolitical cynicism.

I'm hesitant about criticizing punk because I believe each generation is entitled to its own cultural excesses and to make its own mistakes. But as the punk scene degenerates into mindless violence and self-destruction, while offering few musical rewards, it seems like time to jump off. Rock and roll continues to fascinate me and play a central role in my life, but as for punk, as Johnny Rotten once put it, there is no future. ■

Bruce Dancis' music criticism has appeared in, among other places, Billboard, In These Times and The San Francisco Bay Guardian, where an earlier version of this article appeared.

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NAM-New American Movement
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Israel

Continued from page 16

in any other place in the Middle East. This is because the Israeli occupation has made second-class citizens of all Palestinian Arabs. The Israeli soldiers...break into our classrooms and arrest our students... I see an analogy between how we treated blacks and how white European Israelis treat Palestinians. Until I came here, I could never have dreamed a racism like this could exist in the Holy Land."

Halsell also takes us to a Bethlehem Christmas service supervised by a massive force of gun-toting Israeli soldiers. Unfortunately, Halsell does not introduce us to any of the hundreds of thousands of Christians from all over the world whose pilgrimages to Israel-Palestine help keep that shaky war economy afloat.

Lost friendships.

The third section of the book was for me most evocative of caring for the ancient city of cities. It opens with a sad story about a beautiful old Arab sculptor and archaeologist who befriended Halsell, taught her about the Arab past and its shrines, and then turned against her.

Hassam, her guide through the walled

Old City, explains, "An indigenous people, a people who never left Palestine, continually have lived within these old walls. I can trace my forebears back more than ten generations. We have always lived within the Old City and for 300 years in the same house...The newcomers who build skyscrapers are not a Semitic people but rather Westerners from Europe and America who have no appreciation for our holy sites."

He tells her that all his five sons were working outside East Jerusalem when the Israelis occupied the territory, and now none are allowed to return to the home of their generations. "Who are the ones," he pleads, "who refuse the Palestinians

the right to return home? Strangers with blue eyes and blond hair. They may become citizens in my homeland. I do not have a hatred for blue eyes and light hair—many Muslims have blue eyes and light hair—but I hate the fact that the Israeli government welcomes any Jews from any part of the world to live as citizens in a country where my children were born but now are not permitted to live."

In the end, Halsell loses this dear friend. When he leaves her for a moment outside the Rockefeller Museum, she falls into conversation with a blue-eyed, blond-haired South African, and as the two are exchanging slips of paper with names and addresses, Hassan returns.

His face freezes in fear and hatred, he turns to stone.

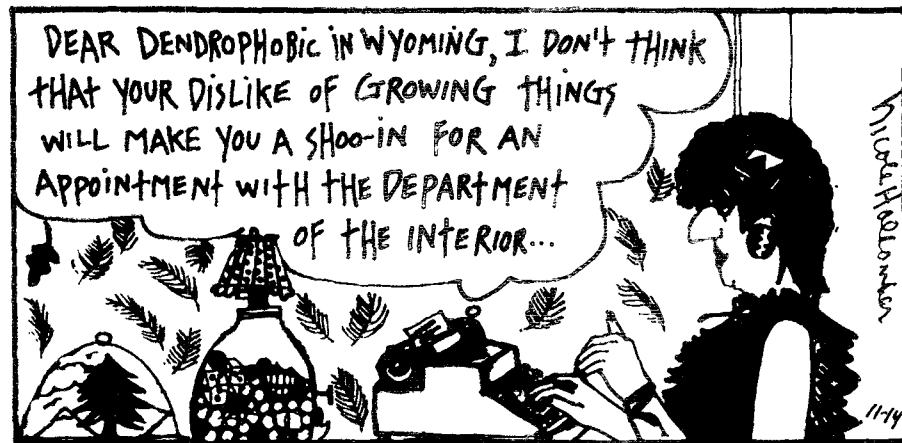
Subsequent chapters tell of an Israeli military raid on a Palestinian campus with beatings, including a near beating of Halsell herself. Also of prison beatings, torture, refugee camps—the usual around the world these days.

But Jews do not do such things, not even if there were ten Holocausts. The Holocaust was meant to teach us a lesson. What lesson? I do not know for sure. But surely not that we should become like the barbarians.

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Miriam Wolf is a former teacher and a Minneapolis writer.

SYLVIA



By Nicole Hollander



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